international instituut
voor sociale geschiedenis

On the Waterfront

newsletter of the friends of the IISH 2018 no. 36

First results of **Trade Union History** and IISH

Heilbron & Fräser Archive

Lectures: Post-war Posthumus

Introduction

Cover photo: Doll of Mieke Meijer, 1992. Photo IISG. IISG Call number BG K21/879
See page 6.

In the first half of 2018 energies at the Institute were channelled toward its evaluation by an external committee of experts from academia and collections. On 15 and 16 March this committee visited the Institute and interviewed many staff members. While the definitive outcome has not been disclosed yet, in an initial reaction at the end of the visit on 16 March the IISH received great praise for the progress accomplished since the evaluation in 2011.

The Institute organized a great many activities concerning the trade unions in the first half of 2018, including the launch of 'trade union stories,' the interviews with Wim Kok, the project 'Vele Handen' concerning the ANDB, and the report 'the precarious polder.' Loran van Diepen reports on this work in the feature article of this issue.

From 11 to 13 April, the IISH hosted the Archivematica Camp, an international gathering for people using Archivematica to preserve digital archives. The open source system has been selected by the IISH for this increasingly important aspect of archive work. The gathering was lively and dynamic.

Many of the above activities took place in the areas left vacant by the Press Museum. Now called the Max Nettlau Room, it is pleasant and spacious and offers many opportunities.

The final note concerns the recent grant to CLARIAH+. The consortium in which the IISH participates was awarded a total of 13.8 million euros by the Ministry of Education and Science. This sum will enable the next step in advanced humanities research, dedicated mainly to analysing the content of digital texts. The option enabling comprehensive searches of very large text files in a single step, rather than readers needing to sift through each individual source text, is conducive to entirely new research questions. The IISH wants to be involved in such advances.

Huub Sanders

About the Friends
Members of the Friends of the IISH pay annual dues of 25, 100 or 500 euros or join with a lifetime donation of 1,500 euros or more. In return, members are invited to semi-annual sessions featuring presentations of IISH acquisitions and guest speakers. These guest speakers deliver lectures on their field of research, which need not be related to the IISH collection. The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. The Friends coordinator may consult the Friends about allocation of the revenues from the dues and delivers an annual financial report in conjunction with the IISH administration.

As a token of appreciation for their great contribution to the Friends, Jaap Kloosterman and Jan Lucassen were appointed as honorary members in 2014.

The IISH was founded by master collector N.W. Posthumus (1880-1960) in the 1930s. For the past two decades, two of the institutions established by this 'history entrepreneur' have operated from the same premises: the Netherlands Economic History Archive founded in 1914 and the International Institute of Social History, which is now more than 80 years old. Both institutes continue to collect, although the 'subsidiary' IISH has grown considerably larger than its 'parent' NEHA. Additional information about the Institute may be found in Jaap Kloosterman and Jan Lucassen, Rebels with a Cause: Five Centuries of Social History Collected by the IISH *(Amsterdam 2010). For all information concerning the Friends, see http://socialhistory.org/en/friends*

Colophon

international institute of social history

Cruquiusweg 31
P.O. Box 2169, 1000 CD Amsterdam
Tel.: + 31 20 668 58 66
Fax: + 31 20 665 41 81
socialhistory.org
info@iisg.nl
Deutsche Bank Nederland N.V. 0555958892
IBAN: NL11DEUT0555958892
BIC: DEUTNL2N

Editors: Bouwe Hijma, Eric de Ruijter, Huub Sanders
Translations: Lee Mitzman
Photography: Hans Luhrs
Design and layout: Ruparo (Ivo Sikkema, Ingeborg Seelemann)
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IISH Coordinator: Huub Sanders
Questions, including on subscriptions of *On the Waterfront*: friends@iisg.nl
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The IISH puts the history of trade unions on the map

In the past year the IISH has continued to highlight the social significance of its collections and research among the general public, showcasing the illustrious history of Dutch trade unions. The IISH uses four different approaches to ensure that the collections and historical research conducted are not isolated efforts but also improve insight into trends in current labour relations. These activities include:

1) a digital project, where volunteers help provide access to the membership records of the Algemene Nederlandse Diamantbewerkersbond (ANDB) [General Dutch Diamond Workers Union]

2) the launch of the website vakbondsverhalen.nl

3) the Wim Kok tapes, and

4) 'What's up with Flex?' – a debate organized about the increasing flexibility on the Dutch labour market and what flex workers, the trade union movement, state and local authorities, and employers can and should do about this trend.

As this brief list illustrates, the projects derive from different clarifications of the relevance of social history. The project 'Amsterdamse Diamantbewerkers and the ANDB' exemplifies the most innovative method. The IISH posted a request on www.velehanden.nl for people to help enter data from membership cards of the ANDB, the first 'modern trade union,' which was founded in 1894. This approach proved very fruitful. Unlike most research projects, in this case the public is not only informed of the results but is also pivotal in conducting the research. In addition to the grandchildren of Amsterdam diamond workers, newly graduated archivists and historians helped enter the data from the handwritten membership cards. They feel they are on a historic journey: 'my goodness, on some membership cards I read that a father sends a son or daughter to become an apprentice diamond worker at a large factory; I cannot imagine my father hiring me out as temporary staff,' mused a fellow archivist.

In addition to relying on the 'velehanden' platform, the IISH launched its own dedicated website. On 23 January at the packed Pakhuis de Zwijger the IISH presented www.vakbondsverhalen.nl, '50 inspiring, exciting, and compelling stories from trade union history,' selected by IISH historian Sjaak van der Velden. Videos, podcasts, and historical visual materials demonstrate that 'trade unions are about much more than strikes' and have endeavoured to educate and train workers. One of the items also revealed that aside from campaigning, the FNV has frequently joined negotiations with employers about increasing wages, as well as occasional efforts to reach a compromise about wage mitigation. That was in 1982, when the FNV reached the Wassenaar Agreement with employers, arranging to mitigate wages in exchange for creating jobs. At the time, many trade union officials regarded 'responsible wage progression' as a courageous and sensible way to deal with the economic recession and widespread unemployment in the 1980s. Many experts and FNV policy officers today, however, emphasize the disadvantages ensuing from the agreement. Questions are also increasing about the polder model, in which trade unions try wherever possible to work with employers to devise solutions for labour market abuses.

FNV chairman at the time Wim Kok was a strong advocate of the Wassenaar Agreement. Before becoming chairman, Kok had a lengthy service record within the FNV and its predecessor the NVV. The IISH asked the former union man for an interview about his quarter century (1961-1985) with the trade unions. This resulted in the Wim Kok tapes, sixteen hours of video-recorded interviews, relating the recollections of Kok to the social transitions. The former union man answers difficult questions with remarkable ease. A journalist for *De Volkskrant* suggested that Kok should have been asked about more controversial topics, for example about the effects of the Wassenaar Agreement. Could flexibilizing the labour market, which has made workers less inclined to strike and has reduced the share of union membership, be attributable from 'Wassenaar'?

Els Hogerhuis speaks in 'De Balie', 12 April 2018

On 12 April at De Balie those concerned about zero-hour contracts, payroll structures, and other tenuous work arrangements had an opportunity to ask questions during the afternoon debate 'What's up with Flex?' featuring experts from trade unions, politics, and academia. The event was organized around the presentation of Precaire polder, a historical reconnaissance by the IISH based on FNV archives that in most cases are not yet available to the public. How has the FNV responded in recent decades (circa 1980-2015) to new challenges relating to globalization, precarization, and changes in the role of employers? One of the main conclusions from Precaire polder is that flexibilization is not an Act of God but the consequence of past decisions by the government and the polder system. Back in the early 1980s the danger of flexibilization was widely publicized by the trade unions, including by the FNV women's secretariat in the campaign *Flexibele arbeid onder de maat!* (1985). In part because trade unions and their leaders prioritized reaching compromises with employers until well into the 2000s, the labour market in the Netherlands was deeply flexibilized. The warning from the FNV women's secretariat was clearly articulated during 'What's up with Flex?' Els Hogerhuis, who worked at the women's secretariat back then, was presented with the first copy of *Precaire polder* as a special tribute. At the time, Els indicated the impact of flexibilization on the daily lives of workers. Her analysis continues to hold true in the labour market today. In a case in point an activist for the Riders Union described the job and wage insecurity among the deliverers at Deliveroo, who were forced into self-employment overnight.

The trade union archives that the IISH manages and the research conducted there have thus been widely publicized during the past year. The Wim Kok tapes have been discussed in the national media. Increasing numbers of volunteers are helping with the project 'Amsterdam diamond workers and the ANDB.' Conference venue Pakhuis de Zwijger was packed for the launch of www.vakbond stories.nl. This website features the variegated trade union history and inspires and encourages new forms of collective organizations. 'What's up with Flex?' has also elicited widespread interest. The IISH has promoted social debate about a current social-economic issue thanks to this afternoon and has enriched it with *Precaire polder*.

Loran van Diepen

Thirty-sixth Friends Day, 25 January 2018

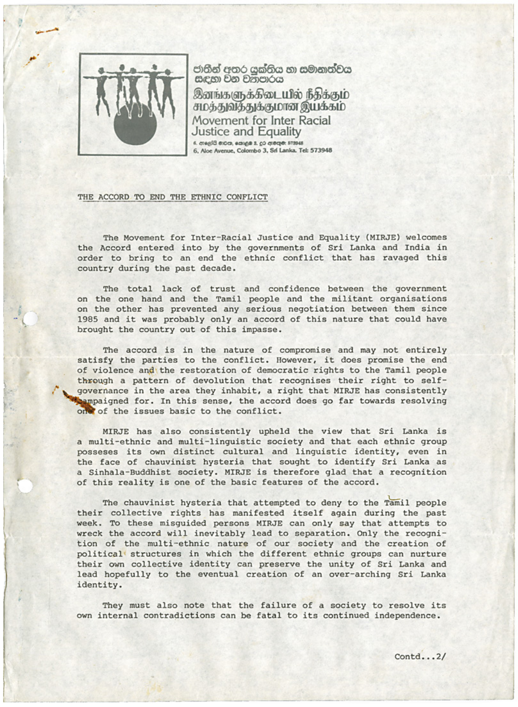
Presentation of the acquisitions

Sri Lanka: diversity, civil war and reconciliation

In 2017 the IISH acquired a small archive from Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka is filled with cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity. During the closing decades of the twentieth century the island was the scene of violent clashes, among which the struggle of the Tamils is the most widely known.

On 22 August 1979 in the Sri Lankan capital Colombo various organizations and people gathered in support of equality and justice between the different population groups, to be manifested in democracy and human rights. While this may seem docile, Sri Lanka is no average country. Propagating this message nationally required great courage. The assembly culminated in the establishment of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE).

The MIRJE ultimately evolved into an NGO dedicated mainly to Human Rights Education at schools, in communities, and within the armed forces. A popular quiz programme designed for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Movement for Inter Racial Justice and Equality
6, Aloe Avenue, Colombo 3, Sri Lanka. Tel: 573948

THE ACCORD TO END THE ETHNIC CONFLICT

The Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) welcomes the Accord entered into by the governments of Sri Lanka and India in order to bring to an end the ethnic conflict that has ravaged this country during the past decade.

The total lack of trust and confidence between the government on the one hand and the Tamil people and the militant organisations on the other has prevented any serious negotiation between them since 1985 and it was probably only an accord of this nature that could have brought the country out of this impasse.

The accord is in the nature of compromise and may not entirely satisfy the parties to the conflict. However, it does promise the end of violence and the restoration of democratic rights to the Tamil people through a pattern of devolution that recognises their right to self-governance in the area they inhabit, a right that MIRJE has consistently campaigned for. In this sense, the accord does go far towards resolving one of the issues basic to the conflict.

MIRJE has also consistently upheld the view that Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic society and that each ethnic group posseses its own distinct cultural and linguistic identity, even in the face of chauvinist hysteria that sought to identify Sri Lanka as a Sinhala-Buddhist society. MIRJE is therefore glad that a recognition of this reality is one of the basic features of the accord.

The chauvinist hysteria that attempted to deny to the Tamil people their collective rights has manifested itself again during the past week. To these misguided persons MIRJE can only say that attempts to wreck the accord will inevitably lead to separation. Only the recognition of the multi-ethnic nature of our society and the creation of political structures in which the different ethnic groups can nurture their own collective identity can preserve the unity of Sri Lanka and lead hopefully to the eventual creation of an over-arching Sri Lanka identity.

They must also note that the failure of a society to resolve its own internal contradictions can be fatal to its continued independence.

Contd...2/

Letter Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality 4 augustus 1987. Santasilan Kadirgamar Papers, inv. no. 1.

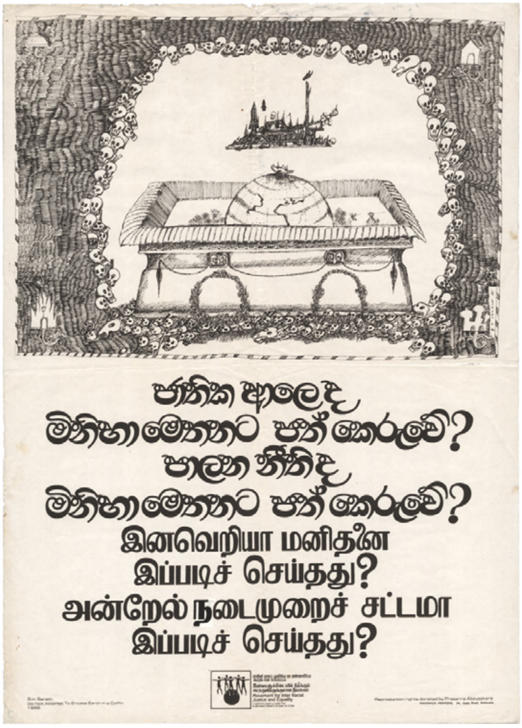
students was played on occasions such as Human Rights Day (10 December).

Now in 2018, the MIRJE though not officially disbanded, no longer organizes activities.

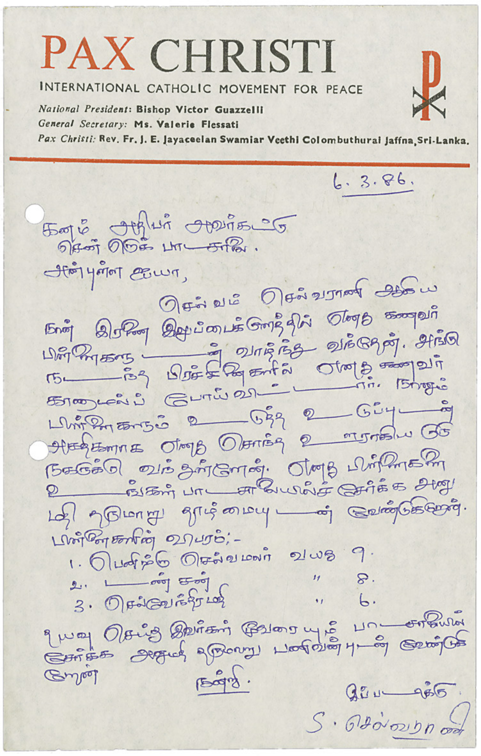
Who were the founders? Father Paul Caspersz, a Roman Catholic priest, is regarded as the actual founder of the MIRJE and was also the first chairman. His name Caspersz reveals that he hails from the Burghers, a group on Sri Lanka descended from earlier colonial settlers. In 1942 Caspersz joined the Jesuits and over the years became very sympathetic to the Tamils, because they were doomed to suffer the worst conditions on earth. Assigned to work on the tea plantations in the north, the Tamils were exploited by the Singhalese and until 1948 by the British colonialists. Caspersz knew his classics, having read not only the Bible but also the works of Frantz Fanon and Che Guevara. He regarded ethnicity as the most serious problem on Sri Lanka.

The IISH received this archive from Ahilan Kadirgamar, the son of Santasilan Kadirgamar. Born in 1934, Santasilan Kadirgamar was a Sri Lankan historian and writer. He considered himself a Marxist with Trotskyist sympathies but retained his religious faith. From 1979 to 1983 he was active in the MIRJE, within the Jaffna chapter he co-founded. Quite a risky venture, as Northern Sri Lanka became unsafe from around 1980, and human rights violations were widespread. Following the disastrous fire in the library of Jaffna, Kadirgamar helped found the Jaffna Citizens' Committee. In 1983 at the height of the Tamil persecutions, Kadirgamar sensed trouble and fled to Japan, where he taught at Christian universities. In 2000 he returned to Sri Lanka, where he died in 2015.

His son Ahilan, who also lived abroad for many years and ultimately returned, arranged for the personal papers of his father to reach the IISH. The MIRJE archive nicely complements the Sri Lankan archives that the IISH already holds, such as those of the Trotskyist Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP) (http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH02993) and the Ceylon Mercantile Union (http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH04380), the trade union that Bala Tampoe ran for decades. See *On the Waterfront* 2016 no. 32.



Poster based on a design by S.H. Sarath 'Do Not Attempt To Encase Earth in a Coffin. IISG BG D90/764.



PAX CHRISTI

INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC MOVEMENT FOR PEACE

National President: Bishop Victor Guazzelli

General Secretary: Ms. Valerie Flessati

Pax Christi: Rev. Fr. J. E. Jayaceelan Swamiar Veethi Colombuthurai Jaffna, Sri-Lanka.

6. 3. 86.

Letter Pax Christi Jaffna 6 maart 1986. Santasilan Kadirgamar Papers, inv. no. 1.

In addition to covering 1979-1983, the years Kadirgamar was active in the MIRJE, the MIRJE archive comprises materials extending through the 1980s. Based on the addresses indicated, some of the documents are presumably from S.B. Arumainayagam, vice president of the Jaffna Citizens Committee. While most documents are in English, a few of them are in the other languages used on Sri Lanka.

The archive comprises the minutes from meetings of the northern MIRJE chapter based in Jaffna. The long lists of the names of victims of ethnic violence in Jaffna in 1987 reflect horrific detail. The ethnic violence was at its height when the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) tried to take control of the city in October 1987. The casualty lists were kept in part by Saint Mary's Cathedral.

MIRJE was a movement dedicated to peace and justice but could do little to stop the violent clashes between ethnic and religious groups and various armed forces. (BHi)

For the archive, see: http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH04529

Ger Sligte, illustrator of the AJC

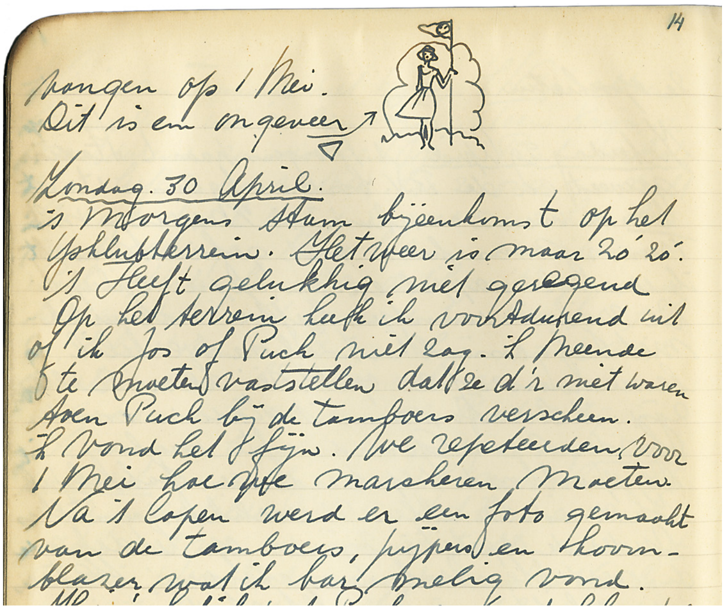
Ger Sligte is associated with the AJC, the Arbeiders Jeugd Centrale [workers' youth centre]. He belonged to the AJC throughout most of its existence, until it was disbanded in 1958, and produced sketches for the AJC.

Photo of Ger Sligte in the 1930s, working on illustrations for a wall gazette of the AJC. Call number: BG A62/735

Born in 1914 in Amsterdam, Sligte attended the institute for applied arts in Amsterdam. After a brief stint in advertising, he soon set up his own business as an independent designer and illustrator.

The surviving family members of Sligte presented his works to the IISH, which added them to the AJC archive that aligns closely with his work. Many friends were from the same circle, and from 1931 he worked continuously for all kinds of AJC publications. The first issue of the journal *De Wiekslag* featured the first illustrations by Sligte.

In addition to illustrations in journals, Sligte produced drawings for camp papers, contributions to plays, and designs for various signs, flags, postcards, and symbols. He was best known in the AJC for his cartoons about the little girl Mieke Meijer. Most AJC drawings are gaily illustrations to texts; only rarely are they explicitly political.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Morgen op 1 Mei.
Dit is een ongeveer

Zondag 30 April.
's Morgens Stem bijeenkomst op het
IJsclubterrein. Het weer is maar 20´20´.
't Heeft gelukkig niet geregend
Op het terrein keek ik voortdurend uit
of ik Jos of Puck niet zag. 'k Meende
te moeten vaststellen dat ze d'r niet waren
Toen Puck bij de tamboers verscheen.
'k Vond het fijn. We repeteerden voor
1 Mei hoe we marcheren moeten.
Na 't lopen werd er een foto gemaakt
van de tamboers, pijpers en hoorn-
blazers wat ik bar snelig vond.

Page from the first diary, with a drawing in recognition of 1 May for Irene Vorrink Archive AJC, no. 2179

Sometimes, however, Sligte did produce political drawings, as he worked for all members of what was known as the red family. He designed campaign posters for the social democrats and did membership recruitment posters for several trade unions and the Rooie Vrouwen. The personal papers of Sligte comprise over fifty political prints he drew in the years 1946-1950 for the democratic-socialist weekly *Paraat*.

The most distinctive items among his papers are the three diaries Sligte kept in the period 1933-1935, providing a glimpse of the life of an AJC member, going from camps to parties to large assemblies. The AJC was filled with activities and led to many friendships. The SDAP leaders figure in his notes as well: Wibaut, De Miranda, and Vorrink ('a great guy').

The diary is also very personal, because Sligte met his first great love at the AJC. In 1933 Sligte started his diary to put everything happening in perspective. Readers will understand after a few lines that he is passionately in love with Irene Vorrink (or Puck, as he called her). Irene Vorrink later served as the first woman on the council of ministers of Prime Minister Den Uyl, but when Sligte wrote about her in his diary, she was only 15, attended pre-university education (gymnasium) and was the daughter of SDAP foreman Koos Vorrink.

In his diary Sligte describes feeling uncertain about whether she loved him as much as he did her. Once they were dating, Irene wrote a section in his diary as well. By the end of the third diary, the two have broken up; Sligte is done with Irene, and his notes end there.

As noted, the best-known cartoon within the AJC was the one featuring Mieke Meijer. Known as a gag cartoon, it appeared as a serial in the AJC journal *De Wiekslag*: every week a few pictures appeared with a short joke. Sligte derived his inspiration from the German youth movement, where the AJC found many examples. In 1929 a nicely illustrated book appeared about the Rote Falken (*Die Rote Kinderrepublik*), featuring photos and drawings, including a short cartoon about Mieke Meijer. Sligte published his version of Mieke Meijer in a comparable format from 1933.

Many AJC members grew up reading the Mieke Meijer cartoons. At one of the gatherings commemorating the AJC in 1992, former AJC members made a doll based on the drawings and organized a tiny exhibition. Mieke Meijer (and Ger Sligte) could thus live on after the cartoon ceased in 1958. (EdR)

The Heilbron & Fräser archive

In the IISH many archives have yet to be catalogued, among them the papers of Heilbron & Fräser. Comprising stacks of paper, publications, and files, they had been lying in the repository in that state for ten years. The archive had belonged to the sociologist Waldo Heilbron and his wife Diana Fräser and was entrusted to the IISH by their sons in 2011.

Waldo Heilbron (right) with other speakers at a conference.

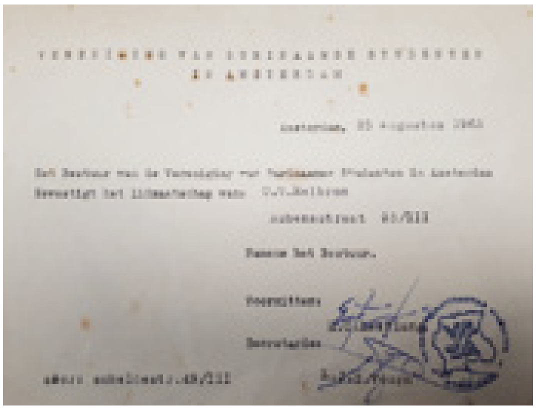
Waldo and Diana

Most of the archive was gathered by Waldo Heilbron (Paramaribo, 1936 – Amsterdam, 2009). In the 1950s he moved from Suriname to the Netherlands to attend the University of Amsterdam, where he took a degree in sociology; afterwards he went to work in Jamaica for two years. Upon returning to Amsterdam, he joined the anthropology department at the University of Amsterdam as a researcher and instructor. Waldo was also involved in various Surinamese organizations during the 1950s and 60s; many were socialist or communist with a nationalist outlook on the Dutch colonies in Suriname and the Antilles. Waldo published many articles and books about e.g. agriculture in Suriname, the consequences of slavery, colonialism, and the cultural heritage of black Dutch people. In the 1990s he was among the founders of the Museum Suriname, where exhibitions and other events continue to be organized on these topics.

Diana Fräser (1952-2000) studied mathematics and then became a math teacher at a secondary school in the Netherlands. She later studied the fishing industry in Curacao to obtain a postgraduate degree in economics. Diana had fewer papers in the archive, but hers were more organized and therefore easier to sort. She participated in smaller organizations in Amsterdam dedicated to women's issues. My favourite items related to the Kenau sports association, where black women attended self-defence classes in the 1980s. Diana also organized educational events and teaching programmes for the Museum Suriname.

The Black Archives

The sons of Waldo and Diana have set up The



Membership of Heilbron in the V.S.S.A.

Passport photo of Diana Fräser, age 19.

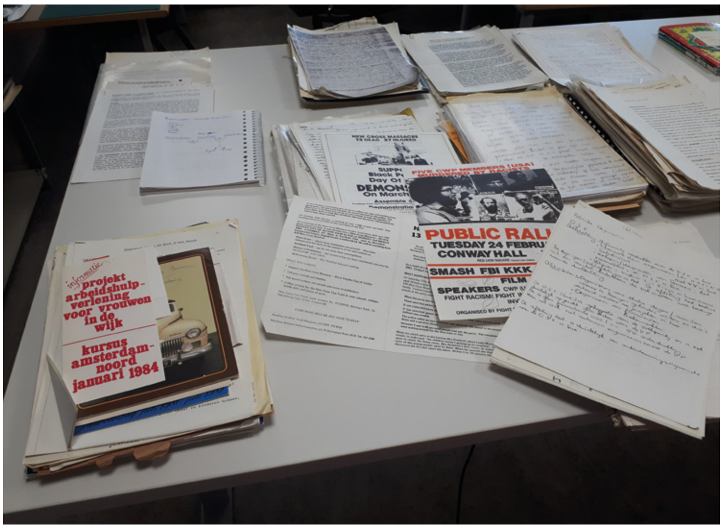
Left: Poster of the Caribbean Conference, held at the Tropenmuseum in 1982. Heilbron was one of the speakers.

Right: Poster appealing for solidarity with Surinamese workers on strike.

Black Archives in Amsterdam. These activists collect and present the heritage of black Dutch people. The Black Cultural Archives in Brixton (United Kingdom) is a similar initiative. Heritage related to slavery and colonialism is often overlooked in mainstream Dutch institutions. Many exhibitions that address these subjects are assembled by white Dutch people and as such reflect a biased perspective.

Waldo and Diana gathered a large collection of books and publications about e.g. Dutch slavery and colonialism. This collection has been presented at The Black Archives. Visitors may examine this library on Zeeburgerdijk (Amsterdam). Last winter The Black Archives organized an exhibition about Otto Huiswoud (1893-1961), the first black member of the communist movement in the United States. Even though Huiswoud was a well-known communist from Suriname, which was a colony of the Netherlands at the time, the IISH has virtually no information about him in the collections. The papers of Waldo include an essay about Huiswoud. My appeal: please do more research on Huiswoud!

Workplace containing the archive of Heilbron and Fräser.



My work on the papers

The inventory of the papers of Waldo and Diana has been online for a few months (see: http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH04478). Since we have very few archives of people or organizations from Suriname, this collection is very important. My favourite objects from these papers were audio recordings of speeches by Malcolm X. I also enjoyed the communist newspapers, which are very different from the media used nowadays. These old newspapers are strongly worded, textual, and not-politically correct.

I examined the material in the boxes. At first I had expected three of the sixteen boxes to contain archive materials and the others documentation. That was not the case, as the share of archive materials was considerably greater, filling seven boxes. The papers of Waldo and Diana are now available on request in the reading room. (Lauren Romijn)

Marxism and Mass Media

In 2017 the IISH received an addition to the archive of the International Mass Media Research Center (IMMRC). This initiative by the American conceptual artist Seth Siegelaub (1941-2013), located in the Paris suburb of Bagnolet from 1973 to 1987, was intended as a documentation centre for mass media. In addition to books and magazines, bibliographic information about this broad field was collected. The IMMRC published the bibliography *Marxism and the Mass Media: Towards a basic bibliography*. The collection was formed by Siegelaub by communicating with

activists in the field and was not intended as a static institution. Well before the era of social media, Siegelaub defined his ultimate goal as 'being able to ship not things but ideas and people, and ideas about things, all over the world, very, very quickly.' Siegelaub had previously founded the IG publishing company, which produced the IMMRC publications.

Siegelaub was also an activist in his own right: in Portugal he collected material from the leftist movement that emerged following the Carnation Revolution in 1974. His methods were the same as those of IISH staff members Rudolf de Jong and Thea Duijker who gathered a large collection of unique materials about turbulent Portugal.

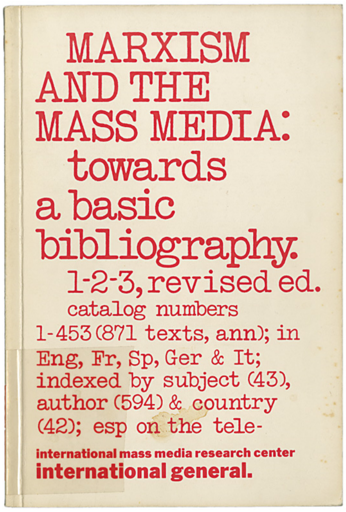
In 1989 the library, which until shortly before had been an active institution, was brought to Amsterdam. Its documentation section comprised 210 files of unofficial documents about a wide variety of world movements. They included the pamphlets that Siegelaub had collected in Portugal, as well as an impressive collection of periodicals from all over the world.

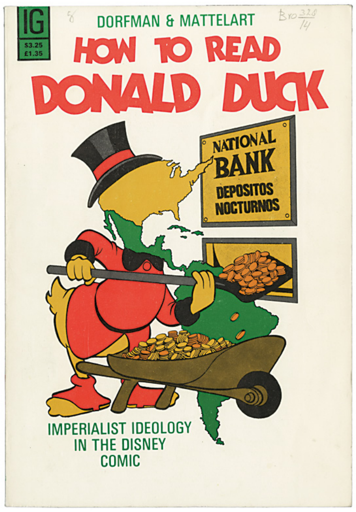
The acquisition came about thanks to the efforts by Götz Langkau. The difficult and very laborious task of integrating the catalogue by Siegelaub in the recently automated IISH catalogue was performed by Tine Sierink, who worked at the IISH at the time. In 1990 Siegelaub settled in Amsterdam, where he was active with his partner Marja Bloem, curator at the Stedelijk Museum.

The library was very welcome for several reasons. First, two thirds of the titles were not yet present in the IISH library. Furthermore, the IISH library knew a gap on communication studies from the United Kingdom and the United States written from a Marxist perspective. In addition, the library was a theoretical complement to the practical documents about protest movements like the ones the ID had collected. On arrival in 1989, the IMMRC catalogue comprised 1,762 records.

Siegelaub was far more than an activist and collector of leftist titles. He was also a plumber, bibliographer, and publicist but was probably most widely known as a conceptual artist and was even considered one of the founding fathers of this school in modern art. He devised the 'the catalogue-as-exhibition' concept as a gallery owner in New York in the 1960s. Siegelaub was always interested in catalogues, lists, and maps. In addition to the IMMRC library, he was an avid collector of textiles and founded the Center for Social Research on Old Textiles in Amsterdam to this end. He gathered an interesting collection of items from all over the world. Of course he also collected books about textiles, and the resulting library obviously includes works by Posthumus about the early-modern textile industry.

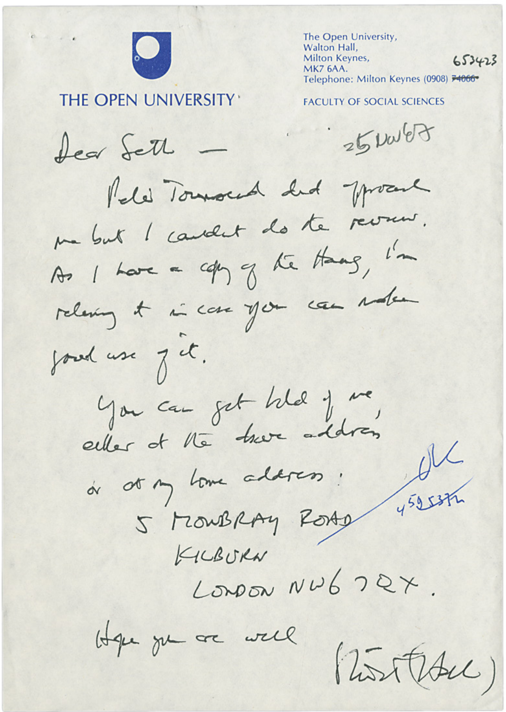
Siegelaub was a man of many talents, as revealed in the exhibition that Sara Martinetti





Left: Cover of *Marxism and the Mass Media*

Right: Cover of *How to read Donald Duck*


THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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Walton Hall,
Milton Keynes,
MK7 6AA.
Telephone: Milton Keynes (0908) ~~74066~~ 653423

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Dear Seth — 25 Nov 87

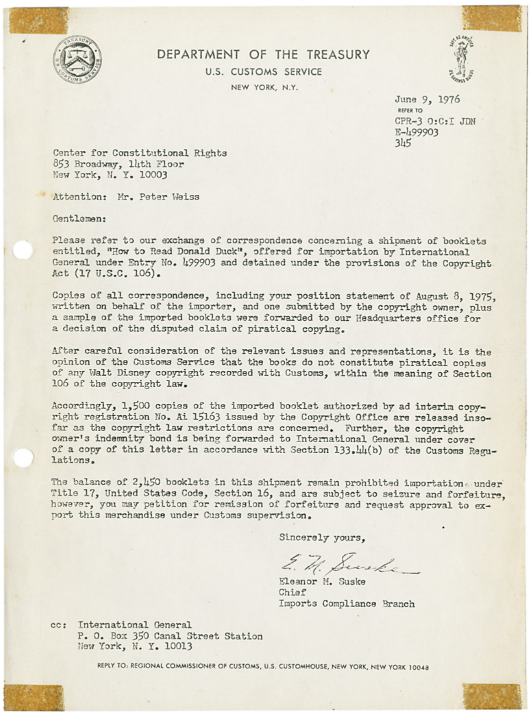
Peter Townsend did approach me but I couldn't do the review. As I have a copy of the [illegible], I'm [illegible] it in case you can make good use of it.

You can get hold of me, either at the above address or at my home address:

5 MOWBRAY ROAD
KILBURN
LONDON NW6 7QX.

Hope you are well

Stuart Hall


DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE
NEW YORK, N.Y.

June 9, 1976
REFER TO
CPR-3 O:C:I JDN
E-499903
345

Center for Constitutional Rights
853 Broadway, 14th Floor
New York, N. Y. 10003

Attention: Mr. Peter Weiss

Gentlemen:

Please refer to our exchange of correspondence concerning a shipment of booklets entitled, "How to Read Donald Duck", offered for importation by International General under Entry No. 499903 and detained under the provisions of the Copyright Act (17 U.S.C. 106).

Copies of all correspondence, including your position statement of August 8, 1975, written on behalf of the importer, and one submitted by the copyright owner, plus a sample of the imported booklets were forwarded to our Headquarters office for a decision of the disputed claim of piratical copying.

After careful consideration of the relevant issues and representations, it is the opinion of the Customs Service that the books do not constitute piratical copies of any Walt Disney copyright recorded with Customs, within the meaning of Section 106 of the copyright law.

Accordingly, 1,500 copies of the imported booklet authorized by ad interim copyright registration No. Ai 15163 issued by the Copyright Office are released insofar as the copyright law restrictions are concerned. Further, the copyright owner's indemnity bond is being forwarded to International General under cover of a copy of this letter in accordance with Section 133.44(b) of the Customs Regulations.

The balance of 2,450 booklets in this shipment remain prohibited importation under Title 17, United States Code, Section 16, and are subject to seizure and forfeiture, however, you may petition for remission of forfeiture and request approval to export this merchandise under Customs supervision.

Sincerely yours,

E. M. Suske
Eleanor M. Suske
Chief
Imports Compliance Branch

cc: International General
P. O. Box 350 Canal Street Station
New York, N. Y. 10013

REPLY TO: REGIONAL COMMISSIONER OF CUSTOMS, U.S. CUSTOMHOUSE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10048

Left: Letter of Stuart Hall to Siegelaub, 1987. Archive IMMRC addition 2017

Right: Letter of the Department of Treasury about the release of *How to read Donald Duck* 1976. Archive IMMRC addition 2017

organized in March 2016 together with the Stedelijk Museum, featuring a substantial portion of the library in nice new showcases. He was also a publisher and gave his publishing company the obscure name International General, both a deliberate caricature for a solo outfit and intended as criticism of Marxists operating nationally.

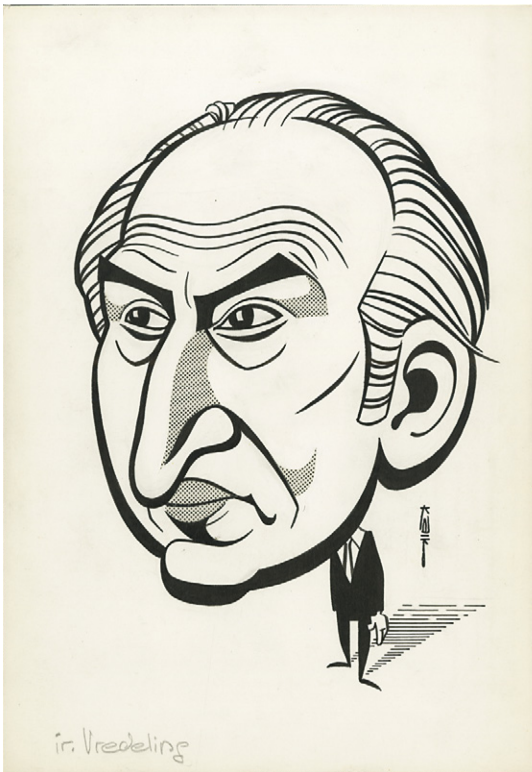
The publishing company had one bestseller: *How to read Donald Duck*, a critique of American cultural imperialism in Chili during Allende. Following the coup by Pinochet, the booklet was burned in the streets of Santiago. Feltrinelli published the work in Europe in 1972. Since the booklet could not be printed in the United States, the copies were produced in England and seized immediately upon import in the United States for copyright violations. Following some discussion the first shipment was allowed in after all, but the second was blocked. The first printing from 1975 is very rare and is coveted by collectors. The authors were Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart.

In 2017 the IISH received an accrual to the IMMRC collection from Marja Bloem: a section from a typical publisher's archive, including correspondence with Dorfman and Stuart Hall, as well as a file on a book by Hendrik de Man about the Flemish textile industry. This accrual comprises some books originating from the IMMRC library as well. (HSa)

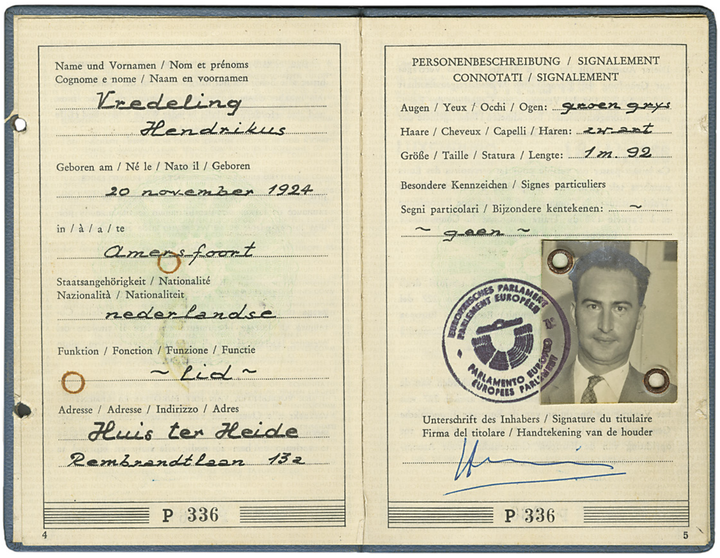
Henk Vredeling: A plainclothes general surrounded by uniforms

In 2017 the IISH acquired the archive of Henk Vredeling, an MP for de Partij van de Arbeid [Dutch Labour Party], Minister of Defence, and Euro commissioner.

Born in 1924, Henk Vredeling joined the resistance as a youth and was severely traumatized by the Second World War. After the war, he attended the college of agriculture in Wageningen. His first job as an agricultural engineer was at the Algemene Nederlandse Agrarische Bedrijfsbond (ANAB) [General Dutch Agrarian Industrial Union]. Vredeling was strikingly articulate in written and oral discourse, combining demographics,



Portrait Vredeling by Wilfred G. Kalkman. IISG Call number PM BG C37/345;



Pass European parliament. 1966. Archive Vredeling

economics, and sociology.

In 1956 Vredeling joined the Dutch House of Representatives on behalf of the PvdA. His two main areas of interest were agriculture and Europe. From 1958 he served in the European Parliament as well.

This period as an elected representative ended, when he became Minister of Defence in the celebrated government under Prime Minister Joop den Uyl in 1973.

The archive contains much turgid material, i.e. many memorandums, reports, and meeting documents. Some are from his period at the ANAB. A great many records concern the PEP, the Progressieve Europese Partij. In 1969 major changes were taking place within the EEC, the predecessor of the European Union. More funding for the EEC, greater authority for the European Parliament, and the imminent accession by the United Kingdom worried Vredeling, who insisted on 'guaranteed democratic control.' He envisaged the PEP as conducive toward achieving this objective. Multinationals were organizing throughout Europe. The time had come for progressive forces to team up as well. Vredeling pursued this cause from the first initiatives in 1969, until he became as Minister of Defence in 1973. The Progressieve Europese Partij, however, was never realized.

In 1973 Vredeling became Minister of Defence, despite his aversion to uniforms. In the tumultuous years that followed arms were supplied – covertly – to Israel during the Yom Kippur War in 1973. Replacing the Starfighters was another source of controversy.

The Defence documents in this archive are clearly his personal papers, comprising many reports, extensive documentation, no minutes, and little correspondence. The official documents

are obviously in the archive of the Ministry of Defence at the National Archive in The Hague.

Still, this archive contains interesting items, such as three envelopes from the Ministry of Defence, presented to Vredeling upon leaving the Ministry. Marked Brokx, Clumpkens, and Lockheed, their contents is of interest to archivists and researchers. The envelopes contain internal memos, personal notes about conversations and phone calls, and similar items. The Brokx envelope was about his possible appointment as state secretary of defence, and the Clumpkens one concerned his role in what was known as the conflict of generals. The third envelope is about the Lockheed Affair and contains material about conversations Vredeling had with Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard. This envelope is still sealed, in keeping with the policy of the National Archive.

The items about *Vrij Nederland* are also of interest. In August 1974 Vredeling was interviewed by Bibeb, known for her amazing skill at getting powerful men to talk. This interview instigated an uproar. Regarding Joseph Luns, secretary general at NATO, Vredeling told her: ‘If that dude gets in my way one more time, I will kick him into the goal.’ Luns wrote an irate response dated 5 September 1974. Victory came easily for Luns, who feigns irony and offended innocence. Remarkably, after this interview, in which definitely the Second World War and probably inebriation resounded, Vredeling was not forced to resign.

In 1976 he left The Hague to become European commissioner for Social Affairs.

In one of the few candid letters I found in the archive, Vredeling wrote Gerard Peijnenburg, Secretary General for the Ministry of Defence, in July 1977 to share favourable remarks about working for Defence and the way this ministry was organized: ‘Twenty-five percent of the organizational and management drive of that department would take us significantly forward in Europe.’ Especially the ‘different languages and mindsets’ are ‘greater impediments’ than expected. The realist Vredeling was very frank: even in 1977 ‘Europe’ was a tedious project. Still, the idealist Vredeling strongly believed in this cause.

For the archive, see: http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH04556 (BHi)

Photo Vredeling with Bram Stemerdink and Liesbeth den Uyl on the PvdA congress of 1979. Photo by Lex van der Slot. IISG Call number BG B34/535

Drawing by Opland ‘Het Generaals-conflict’ (The conflict of the Generals). Published in *de Volkskrant* 8 November 1973. IISG Call number PM BG D88/110;

Lectures 25 January 2018

Posthumus: The postwar years

Posthumus and the RIOD
Lecture by Annemieke van Bockxmeer

In his 'In memoriam' dedicated to Posthumus, Professor Brugmans quoted one of the speakers at the IISH 25th anniversary celebration in 1960. At this occasion, the speaker mentioned the 'aggressive energy' of Posthumus. What did this reference denote? What was the foundation? Revisiting the history of the State Institute for War Documentation may tell us more.

In the beginning
During the occupation, from 1941 until May 1945, Posthumus was involved in the illegal preparation and finally the establishment of the Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (RIOD) [State Institute for War Documentation]. Following the Liberation he chaired the triumvirate running the Institute, usually known then as Oorlogsdocumentatie, and in 1949 he received an honourable discharge. Posthumus thus spent 8 years documenting the war.

Annemieke van Bockxmeer speaks, IISG Amsterdam, 25 January 2018. Photo Jacques van Gerwen

The Institute began as an Amsterdam work project for unemployed white collar workers and was intended to provide a source of income for 12 staff members from the IISH, which had been closed by the Germans. Annie Adama- van Scheltema, Boris Sapir, and Kees de Dood were ostensibly ordering and cataloguing documents relating to the political, economic, and social history of the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In fact, they were compiling a war catalogue referring to articles and newspaper announcements, regardless of where they had appeared. They carried on until after the Liberation. This catalogue remains at the NIOD and was identified by Alex Geelhoed.

War documentation and Brill
Posthumus became deeply involved in documenting the war through his efforts to found an institute for war documentation. During the occupation he had more time on his hands than he previously had; he was dismissed as a professor by the Germans, who also discontinued activities at the IISH, where he was the director. Posthumus therefore devised new pursuits. In addition to his efforts to establish the RIOD, Posthumus was a non-executive director at Brill in Leiden from the summer of 1943. At Brill he arranged for his son Jan and his fiancée at the time Lida Cohen to collect papers issued by the underground. The idea was for Jan to write the history of the Second World War afterwards, although that never materialized. Lida (who changed her name to Lydia Winkel following the Liberation) was one of the first staff members at the Institute. She was appointed by Posthumus, who was known to recruit staff without input from the two other members of the directorate.

Although certainly not alone in his desire to set up an institute for documenting the war, Posthumus was a driving force behind the effort. The plan for an institute for war documentation may have arisen earlier with a senior official at the German-run department of Education, Science, and Culture Preservation, the scholar of law J.K. Van der Haagen. (It was also discussed in London by Minister van Education, Arts and Science in exile G. Bolkestein and Radio Oranje staff member Lou de Jong.)

Van der Haagen started by contacting Algemeen Rijksarchivaris Bijlsma (the General State Archivist) in August 1943. As the Netherlands was occupied at the time, discussing an institute that could be set up only after Germany was defeated clearly had to happen in secret. The conversations that Van der Haagen had with Algemeen Rijksarchivaris Bijlsma in August 1943 were therefore illegal, as were the ones that Van der Haagen and Bijlsma had with Posthumus from September 1943. Still, they met at the department. The effort became truly illegal only when the provisional directorate was formed with Professor Hermesdorf from Nijmegen and Professor Sneller from Rotterdam. Posthumus was chairman of this illegal directorate and remained so following the Liberation.

Because material from the twentieth century was not collected at the Algemeen Rijksarchief, the initiative was carried forward by Posthumus. In December 1943 Van der Haagen put Posthumus in touch with his secretary general G.A. (Gerrit) van Poelje, who had been dismissed by the Germans. Van Poelje was happy to share constructive ideas, obviously outside the earshot of the German sympathizers heading the department.

Van der Haagen and Van Poelje assumed that the new institute would be fully funded by the government, and the Dutch government-in-exile in London agreed. Collecting was a duty of the state, as Posthumus formulated in the Memorandum about the new institute that he drafted in consultation with Van der Haagen. After all, it was in the national interest and an obligation toward the Dutch people, who had endured such suffering. Moreover, archives of German and Dutch war organizations should not simply be left unattended. They were to be protected, for example by seizing buildings where those archives were stored.

Posthumus stipulated in his documents about the institute to be established that the government should task a private organization, which would collect as instructed by the State, and would be responsible for publishing the material for the time being. Van der Haagen and Van Poelje vehemently objected to this plan. One of the most important arguments against this idea was that confidential data on, for example, members of the NSB [Dutch Nazi sympathizers] should not be made available to private parties. From these first discussions in September 1943, Posthumus urged involving a private, commercial organization, i.e. Uitgeverij Brill! He wanted the project to combine a publisher and a government agency, both funded by the State. In April 1944 Van Poelje harshly criticized the plans of Posthumus. He believed that involving a commercial institution in this documentation was unethical. Van Poelje generally opposed the commercial ventures of Posthumus.

Historical State Commission

Immediately following the Liberation, on 8 May 1945, the RIOD was established, as announced in the *Staatscourant*. Obviously, a more permanent arrangement was needed. Until July 1946 the Ministry, where Van der Haagen remained the liaison for the RIOD, and the directorate assumed that the plan would require detailed legislation. Two urgent matters inspired this view. Van der Haagen and the Ministry wanted to reign in Posthumus, who was considered headstrong and drove up costs. Equally urgent was the need to regulate the collection of classified data, such as restricted state documents and government intelligence. Consultations with the Ministry of Justice and Posthumus culminated in very extensive draft legislation about a Historical State Commission that would operate fairly independently but would nonetheless report to the directorate of the RIOD for 5 years. However, the arrangement did not come about. Presumably at the urging of newly appointed Minister of Education, Arts and Science J.J. Gielen the draft bill was rejected by Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina in the summer of 1946. In the end, a Royal Decree was issued providing for the establishment of the Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie tasked with commissioning academic research on the history of the Second World War in the Netherlands.

IV Purges

Calling off the plan for a Historical State Commission may also have arisen from an entirely different issue involving Posthumus. This matter was known to the minister, although it was not disclosed at the RIOD.

Following the Liberation, the Political Investigation Department in Leiden launched an inquiry into Folkers, the director of Brill. The investigators concluded that Brill had derived great financial benefit from the German occupation, because the department of antiquarian books sold many volumes to German libraries and Nazi institutions. Brill had also supplied printed matter for the German war effort in Russia and German agricultural policy in occupied areas of Russia and Poland. Folkers received a share of the profits as a bonus, as did the non-executive directors, including Posthumus. Following the Liberation, Brill came under scrutiny, not only by the Political Investigation Department, but also by the Zuiveringsraad [council for purging] in charge of publishers, booksellers, libraries, and newsagents and commercial advertising. The Zuiveringsraad held Posthumus and the other non-executive directors at Brill accountable for failing to oppose the policy of director Folkers and for sharing the profits. On 21 November 1947 Posthumus was suspended for one year from his office as non-executive director. However, Posthumus won his appeal to the Centrale Zuiveringsraad for corporate industry. The council found that Posthumus was liable with regard to the publishing company but deemed his conduct appropriate in all other respects during the war. Presumably, the Zuiveringsraad was referring to the help he and his wife had provided to Jewish children and the money that Brill provided via Posthumus from the unreported earnings to professors dismissed from Leiden University and to Jewish professors in hiding.

In 1949 Posthumus was appointed director at Brill. Soon afterwards, Brill sent a leaflet to foreign relations mentioning that Posthumus chaired the RIOD directorate as well, and that his publishing company would process orders for war documentation. This was odd, as publication of war documentation had been entrusted to Martinus Nijhoff. Minister of Education, Arts and Science Rutten found this to be a conflict of interest and suggested to Posthumus that he resign from Oorlogsdocumentatie, if he wished to remain director at Brill. In the end, Posthumus was granted an honourable discharge from the RIOD in 1949. He was able to continue channelling his 'aggressive energy' for many years to come.

Posthumus, social sciences, and the ideal of university education

Lecture by Peter Jan Knegtmans

During the occupation Dutch universities were subject to serious pressure. Generally, the Dutch intelligentsia is believed to have been failed to deal appropriately with the forces of occupation. Insofar as this criticism related to the universities, the professors – despite laudable actions by Professor Cleveringa and others – did not protest in public or at least stop teaching, and they lacked the courage or willingness to advise their students about personal matters. Professors were too quick to justify their conduct by arguing that they were responsible only for academic education of the students.

Their argument did have some merit, as the law stipulated that universities were tasked with 'educating and preparing [students] to engage as independent scholars, and to hold offices in society, requiring a university education.' Not everybody, however, subscribed to such a rigid interpretation of these duties. Professors at the special universities (the Free University Amsterdam, Nijmegen Catholic University) felt that providing students with moral guidance explicitly figured in their mission. This one-sided task description had also been condemned at state universities.

The worldwide Great Depression in the 1930s had made students feel insecure and manifested in different, interrelated complaints about the university system at the time. Although universities were small institutions in those days, students felt that internal contacts were lost. Students enrolled in different faculties did not meet, and students had little or no contact with their professors. Moreover, students wondered how universities were furthering their personal development as human beings, whether university curricula had become too specialized, and whether, given the widespread unemployment, social needs might merit greater consideration.

As often happens in times of crisis, they turned to a community for support, in this case a strongly idealized medieval-style academic community, where instructors were believed to have served students as mentors. Initiatives to this end arose everywhere. Courses and conferences were organized addressing university and society, with some of those for students and professors from the University of Amsterdam taking place at the Woudschoten conference centre in Zeist. One of these 'University and society' weekends convened by Amsterdam students was run by Professor Posthumus. At this occasion the physicist, philosopher, and educationalist Professor Kohnstamm spoke about the importance of character building and cultural edification for students. He entrusted the first mission (character building) to the student associations, which had in fact been serving this purpose for quite a while. Cultural edification, however, was in his view the responsibility of the university. Nevertheless, in his concluding observations Posthumus tasked the students with taking the initiative here. Although it was not made explicit, these discussions in fact raised a new university education ideal, broadening the scope well beyond scholarship alone.

During the occupation the University of Amsterdam proved less cohesive than any of the other universities. Situated in a big city, the students were widely dispersed, and a substantial share lived outside the city. In addition, a far higher percentage of the students did not join any of the convivial associations. In cities such as Delft and Leiden, where student housing was concentrated on a few streets and canals, the situation was entirely different. Throughout the occupation in Amsterdam, the lack of authority and low membership of these student societies presented a problem.

During the occupation some advocated forming a general association that would accept all students, as well as a civitas academica, where professors and students would maintain close ties. In another turn of events, Professor Posthumus appeared to have abandoned his views and no longer believed that change initiatives had to come from the students. In 1943 he had drafted a plan for a faculty dedicated to examining political and social issues. In June 1945 he presented his idea to some of his peers, including Jan Romein. Posthumus aimed mainly to educate future diplomats and 'senior' journalists at institutes dedicated to international politics.

In that same month Professor Kohnstamm published his ideas about the new faculty in *Het Parool*. He also believed that future diplomats, journalists, and tax inspectors should be university-educated, as well as social workers and adult education teachers. In addition, he argued that during the war intellectuals had failed to meet their obligations. He blamed this inadequacy on universities, which were overly imbued with nineteenth-century ideals. Ongoing specialization left insufficient time and interest for exploring more profound spiritual questions and the current serious problems with the structure of state and society. Again, Kohnstamm was implicitly calling for debate on the ideal of education through scholarship.

In the subsequent course of the discussion about the 7th faculty, officially known as the faculty of Political and Social Sciences, this educational ideal vanished. The preparations committee chaired by Posthumus underlined the scholarly nature of the new faculty and the fields of study it would encompass, such as the new political science, as was still required by law. The decision was strategic as well, as the university wanted to avoid giving the impression that students would undergo political indoctrination.

The faculty was established, but only after some serious political disputes. Why do I believe that this new faculty originated from a new ideal of university education? The first reason is of course because of what Kohnstamm wrote on this subject in *Het Parool* in 1945. The second is that both Kohnstamm and Posthumus took part in the courses and conferences intended to give students a more general edification in the late 1930s. My final consideration is what

Posthumus wrote and said in the Explanatory Notes to the draft regulation setting up the new faculty and in an interview with *De Maasbode* in 1947. The widespread political naïveté and social ignorance manifested by the Dutch intelligentsia during the war were to be countered by educating people at the new faculty to make the Dutch population more aware of the serious political and social problems, according to Posthumus. Promoting a sense of social responsibility among students was enshrined in the law only in 1960.

Posthumus and his postwar activities

Lecture by Huub Sanders

The postwar years did not yield the same spectacular results for the IISH as the period before the war had. The prevailing impression is that the IISH went through an enormously difficult period. The Institute had been looted. Far less funding was available than before the war. Posthumus was believed to have become somewhat disinterested in the IISH, as he had taken up other causes.

Three of his most important activities have already been covered this afternoon: his involvement in the 7th faculty, the RIOD, and Brill. There were other initiatives as well. One less well-known project, for example, was the Study Centre for Social Questions, which Posthumus co-founded in 1945. The centre instrumentalized scientific-synthetic ideas in social relations in an effort to 'unite the results of scholarly study, to achieve a synthesis …' The centre was tasked primarily with 'reconciling insights regarding the problems that new reconstruction of our country and human development there will entail.' The impressive list of founders comprised 29 names, such as J.M. Burgers (Delft), Ph.J. Idenburg (CBS), S. Mansholt, H.J. Pos (UvA), W. Posthumus-van der Goot, H.J. Reinink (Ministry of Education, Arts and Science), Jan Romein, Nico Schermerhorn, J. Tinbergen, and Hein Vos. When the centre was founded, three current ministers, including the prime minister, were involved in the effort. Posthumus had little active involvement, although Willemijn Posthumus-van der Goot did more. Still, the plan aligned perfectly with his ideas.

After the war Posthumus served for a while as chairman of the ISONEVO, the institute for Social Research on the Dutch People founded in 1940. In 1947 he managed to embed this Institute within the KNAW. The ISONEVO conducted practical research, often commissioned by municipal authorities. This research was strongly sociographic; the countryside was an important topic. The ISONEVO preceded the SISWO (the Stichting Interuniversitair instituut voor Sociaal-wetenschappelijk Onderzoek/ Instituut voor Maatschappijwetenschappen), which was established in 1960.

Based on his affiliation with the 7th faculty, Posthumus was active at the Russia Institute, which was accommodated in the IISH. He covered Press studies together with Baschwitz, who had worked at the IISH before the war as well.

Posthumus also experienced drastic changes in his personal life in the postwar years. His marriage to Willemijn van der Goot failed, and he became involved with Wil van Straalen, with whom he had a son in 1949. In a short piece in Herinneringen describing the reception at the NEHA held in honour of the 80th birthday of the founder shortly before Posthumus died in 1960, Lou de Jong (1914 - 2005) captures how some viewed the course of events. De Jong expressed disapproval at seeing the son from the first marriage (Jan Posthumus, age 51 at the time) there in the company of the new son (Rob, age 10 at the time).

While the account of Posthumus' declining interest is certainly somewhat true, it merits some important qualifications, the main one being that he remained the IISH director as usual through 1952. Rüter joined as the 2nd director only in 1950. Posthumus was solely in charge of the IISH for five years after the war.

As director of the IISH, all his work was dedicated to reconstruction. The three most important areas impacted by the war were:

1) physical: the building in 1945 was empty and needed to be re-furnished; Annie Scheltema has written how she salvaged a table and a few chairs from Bergen and brought them to 264 Keizersgracht. The premises were unheated, and there was no telephone or any other facilities.

2) The collections had disappeared as well. Then in 1946 restitution got under way. Annie Scheltema headed up both these operations.

3) Third were the organizational relations relating to the reconstruction. Immediately after May 1945 De Centrale indicated it would no longer be able to contribute as it had before the war; new financiers had to be found. The Dutch government and the City of Amsterdam came forward and in 1945 agreed to allocate financing at a ratio of 1:1:1 for De Centrale : Dutch State : City of Amsterdam. Posthumus applied substantial pressure to bring this about by flaunting the invitation from Harvard University to bring the entire institute to the United States.

De Centrale wanted to be relieved of its financial responsibility for the IISH as soon as possible. But what would be the consequences for its collections? De Centrale had entrusted them on standing loan to the Stichting IISG. That Stichting was changing, now that new partners had been found. This called for a new standing loan agreement as well.

On the other hand, the Dutch State was unlikely to put up funding without some assurance that the collections would remain in public hands. In 1947 De Centrale and the Dutch State therefore reached an agreement that the collections provided on standing loan were not to be given away or sold, except to the Dutch State. While Posthumus might have become less interested, he took care to arrange these two matters.

The Dutch State made its participation in the new plans contingent on Posthumus accepting a reduced salary, and in 1949 his salary was indeed cut to 2,000 guilders.

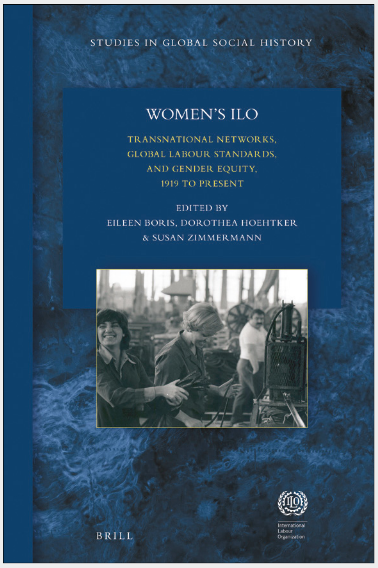
In 1950 Posthumus raised several substantive matters. He wrote to De Centrale, noting that his position at the IISH had become less satisfying: he feared that the Institute was losing contact

with the outside world. The branch in Paris no longer existed, nor did the IISH publish academic works anymore. As a result, the Institute risked losing its prestige. He also felt that present-day problems merited greater consideration. The foundation for the work by the Institute was the interest present among many groups in the population in the rise of the socialist movement and ideas. This work was immensely important as a tribute to the history of the movement and its predecessors and as a way of using the knowledge about the history of the movement to support the strength of socialist conviction. Posthumus then explained why the Institute needed to change course. He argued that the socialist world vision was no longer as rigid as it had once been and was transitioning from theory toward practice. Specialized historical research therefore elicited less interest, and public attention was now focused on the present and the future. This section was followed by the conclusion that the IISH should continue historical research, but that the collections and knowledge needed to be equipped for current use. Sociology, social psychology, and history needed to be moulded into a theory of societal development. Posthumus went on to list several examples of this social-science research, ('research work'), including 'social psychological tendencies toward a planned structure of society.' Expansion to 'the East' was also needed. In the discussion within the Board, De Centrale expressed the most profound reservations. This expanded mission conflicted with the articles of association of De Centrale, and venturing into Asia was completely out of the question.

Another change that Posthumus envisioned concerned the collection scope. The type of archive that could be acquired during the first stage of the IISH no longer existed or was no longer available. As mentioned, institutions interested in gathering collections in this field had now been established outside the Netherlands as well. The board was moreover observing a trend that it described as 'socialization' in the 1950s. This meant that ideas emanating from the sphere of socialism were perceived very broadly and had become normal goals deemed worth pursuing in and for the established society. The bearers of these ideas had therefore become large, established social institutions, with similarly vast archives. The IISH needed to figure in this process. The institutions considered here included organizations such as the SER, the Stichting van de Arbeid, the College van Rijksbemiddelaars, and even the EGKS (ECSC). Of all these organizations, the archive of the Stichting van de Arbeid was brought to the IISH.

The matters described here were clearly important in the train of thought elaborated by Posthumus. After 1945 he invested many of his energies in drawing Dutch university circles out of the ivory tower. The university-educated had to be practical as well, not weltfremd scholars. They also needed to be equipped to withstand the totalitarian temptation of fascism and communism.

This tendency of wanting to contribute to society, is common among social historians and persists with ups and downs. And it seems to be resurging amid the discussions nowadays about migration and slavery.



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Women's ILO

Transnational Networks, Global Labour Standards, and Gender Equity, 1919 to Present

Edited by **Eileen Boris**, University of California, Santa Barbara, **Dorothea Hoehtker**, ILO, and **Susan Zimmermann**, Central European University, Hungary

Women's ILO examines a century-long history of women and their networks involved in and with the ILO, the gendered meaning of labour standards, and the challenges of achieving gender equity through international labour law, transnational campaigns, and local labour policies.

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